

## Message Text

SECRET

PAGE 01 STATE 214850

50

ORIGIN NODS-00

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /001 R

66609

DRAFTED BY S/S:FVORTIZ:GK

APPROVED BY S/S:ORTIZ

----- 043276

O 101459Z SEP 75 ZFF4

FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO USMISSION GENEVA IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T STATE 214850

NODIS

CHEROKEE

FOLLOWING REPEAT STATE 214850 SENT ACTION AMMAN 10 SEPT 75

QUOTE:

S E C R E T STATE 214850

NODIS

CHEROKEE

E.O. 11652: XGS-3

TAGS: PFOR, MASS, JO

SUBJECT: JORDAN HAWKS AND MESSAGE FOR KING HUSSEIN

FOR THE AMBASSADOR FROM THE SECRETARY

1. YOU SHOULD SEEK AN IMMEDIATE APPOINTMENT WITH KING HUSSEIN AND CONVEY TO HIM THE ATTACHED MESSAGE FROM THE SECRETARY. IT DESCRIBES THE NEW SITUATION WITH RESPECT TO THE HAWK AND URGES HIM, AS YOU SUGGESTED IN AMMAN'S 06076, TO TAKE A POSITIVE STAND ON THE RECENT EGYPT-ISRAEL AGREEMENT.

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 STATE 214850

2. BEGIN TEXT: YOUR MAJESTY: I WANT TO REPORT TO YOU

THAT WE ARE MAKING PROGRESS IN OUR EFFORTS TO CONVINCE THE CONGRESS NOT TO BLOCK THE SALE OF THE FOURTEEN HAWK BATTERIES WE AGREED UPON. PRELIMINARY CONSULTATIONS HAVE CONFIRMED MY EARLIER EXPECTATION THAT THE CONGRESSIONAL ATMOSPHERE WOULD BE MORE FAVORABLE WITH THE CONCLUSION OF THE EGYPT-ISRAEL AGREEMENT. WE HAVE BEEN TOLD THAT SOME OF THE KEY OPPONENTS OF THE SALE IN CONGRESS HAVE 'CAVED" AND ARE READY TO ALLOW THE SALE OF ALL FOURTEEN BATTERIES AS YOU AND WE HAVE INSISTED.

THERE ARE STILL OTHERS TO WORK ON.

3. YOUR LETTER OF AUGUST 25 TO CONGRESSIONAL LEADERS WAS OF HELP IN BRINGING ABOUT THIS FAVORABLE EVOLUTION. THE LETTER'S REASSURANCE OF JORDAN'S INTENT TO USE THE HAWK BATTERIES DEFENSIVELY TO PROTECT FIXED SITES HAS BEEN CRUCIAL IN SOFTENING THE OPPOSITION OF A NUMBER OF SENATORS AND CONGRESSMEN.

4. IF WE ARE TO OBTAIN APPROVAL OF THE SALE WITHOUT AT LEAST A FURTHER TWENTY-DAY EXTENSION, WE MUST MAKE OUR MOVE WITH CONGRESS BY THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 11. BEFORE DOING SO, I WANT TO TELL YOU HOW WE PLAN TO PROCEED TO ASSURE YOU HAVE NO OBJECTIONS.

5. YOUR MAJESTY, THE OVERRIDING CONCERN OF THOSE WHO OPPOSE THE HAWK SALE IS FEAR THAT THEY WILL BE CAPABLE OF USE IN A MOBILE MODE TO SUPPORT POSSIBLE OFFENSIVE OPERATIONS. WE NEED TO FIND A WAY TO MEET THIS CONCERN. MY PROPOSAL IS THAT WE REITERATE IN A LETTER TO THE CONGRESS WHAT YOU YOURSELF HAVE SAID, NAMELY

THAT THE HAWKS WILL BE USED SOLELY FOR THE DEFENSE OF YOUR CAPITAL AND A FEW MAJOR FIXED POSITIONS, AND THAT THE ACTUAL GEOGRAPHIC LOCATION AND THE CONFIGURATION OF THE SITES FOR THE HAWK BATTERIES WILL DEMONSTRATE CLEARLY YOUR INTENT TO USE THESE MISSILES FOR PURELY DEFENSIVE PURPOSES. ARMED WITH THIS ASSURANCE; I HOPE WE CAN MOVE AHEAD ON THE COMMITMENT WE MADE TO YOU ON THE FOURTEEN HAWK BATTERIES.

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 STATE 214850

6. THIS DOES NOT INVOLVE ANY NEW COMMITMENT ON YOUR PART. IN MY JUDGMENT, HOWEVER, IT IS EXTREMELY IMPORTANT THAT WE BE ABLE TO PROCEED IN THIS WAY IN ORDER TO MAXIMIZE THE CHANCES OF SUCCESS AND ALSO IN ORDER TO AVOID A RESIDUE OF BITTERNESS ON THE PART OF SOME MEMBERS OF THE CONGRESS, WHICH COULD COMPLICATE U.S.-JORDANIAN RELATIONS IN THE FUTURE, INCLUDING OUR CONTINUING MILITARY RELATION-

SHIP. IT IS IMPORTANT WE LOOK AHEAD TOGETHER TO THE FUTURE. THIS IS FULLY CONSISTENT WITH WHAT I TOLD YOU LAST WEEK ABOUT THE NEED TO FIND SOME FACE-SAVING FORMULA. I CANNOT HONESTLY SAY I AM SURE THIS WILL SUCCEED, BUT I BELIEVE IT HAS A VERY GOOD CHANCE. THEREFORE, WE SHALL PRESS FOR CONGRESSIONAL APPROVAL ESSENTIALLY ON THIS BASIS UNLESS YOU HAVE OTHER VIEWS.

7. YOUR MAJESTY, I AM HOPEFUL THAT WE WILL ACHIEVE SUCCESS ON THE HAWK ISSUE AND THAT THIS WILL BE SEEN AS A VINDICATION OF YOUR STEADFAST POLICY OF CLOSE RELATIONS BETWEEN THE U.S. AND JORDAN. CERTAINLY THE PAST TWO WEEKS HAVE BEEN PAINFUL ONES, FOR YOU AS WELL AS FOR PRESIDENT FORD AND MYSELF, BECAUSE OF THE DOUBTS THAT CIRCUMSTANCES HAVE SEEMED TO CAST OVER OUR CLOSE RELATIONSHIP. YET PRESIDENT FORD AND I REMAIN DETERMINED, AS WE KNOW YOU ARE, NOT TO LET ANYTHING DISRUPT THAT RELATIONSHIP NOR TO ALLOW ANYTHING TO BLOCK PROGRESS TOWARD AN OVERALL SETTLEMENT IN THE MIDDLE EAST BASED ON SC RESOLUTIONS 242 AND 338.

8. THE RECENT AGREEMENT WHICH WE HELPED CONCLUDE BETWEEN EGYPT AND ISRAEL IN OUR JUDGMENT OFFERS AN OPPORTUNITY UNPARALLELLED SINCE 1948 TO ACHIEVE SUCH AN OVERALL SETTLEMENT AS WELL AS TO MAINTAIN CLOSE BILATERAL RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN THE U.S. AND KEY ARAB COUNTRIES SUCH AS JORDAN, SAUDI ARABIA AND EGYPT, AND TO ESTABLISH IN TIME THE SAME CLOSE RELATIONSHIP WITH SYRIA. BUT THIS OPPORTUNITY CAN BE SPOILED IF THE GENERAL ARAB REACTION IS A NEGATIVE ONE. IF JORDAN AND SYRIA, WHATEVER THEIR PRIVATE DOUBTS, APPEAR TO BE OPPOSED TO THE AGREEMENT, IT WILL BRING GREAT COMFORT TO THE SOVIETS AND TO THOSE FORCES IN THE ARAB WORLD WHICH HAVE  
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 04 STATE 214850

LONG WORKED AGAINST YOUR MAJESTY'S REGIME. IT WILL ALSO BRING GREAT COMFORT TO THOSE IN ISRAEL WHO OPPOSE MAKING CONCESSIONS IN THE CAUSE OF PEACE IN THE AREA, AND TO THEIR SUPPORTERS IN THIS COUNTRY. FINALLY, CRITICISM BY JORDAN AND SYRIA TENDS TO UNDERCUT THE POSITION OF ARAB GOVERNMENTS SUCH AS THOSE OF SAUDI ARABIA WHOSE POLICIES, LIKE YOUR OWN, HAVE BEEN TO SUPPORT A REALISTIC APPROACH TO THE MIDDLE EAST. IF IT APPEARS PUBLICLY THAT JORDAN HAS REVERSED ITS POSITION, NO LONGER SUPPORTS U.S. POLICY IN THE MIDDLE EAST AND IS NO LONGER WILLING TO WORK WITH EGYPT AND OTHER MODERATES, IT COULD JEOPARDIZE THE LONG-TERM STRATEGY WHICH OUR TWO GOVERNMENTS HAVE BEEN PURSUING. IN MY JUDGMENT, THIS WOULD BE A DISASTER FOR THE ARAB CAUSE, AS WELL AS FOR THE PROSPECTS OF PEACE IN THE

MIDDLE EAST.

9. IT IS FOR THIS REASON THAT I HOPE YOUR MAJESTY WILL BE ABLE TO INDICATE PUBLICLY A MORE POSITIVE JORDANIAN ATTITUDE TOWARD THE RECENT AGREEMENT, AND THAT YOU WILL ALSO BE ABLE TO CONVINCE YOUR SYRIAN NEIGHBORS TO BE LESS CRITICAL OF EGYPT AND MORE POSITIVE ABOUT THE PROSPECT OF SOMETHING MORE FOR THEMSELVES, EVEN IF IT IS LIMITED IN SCOPE.

I AM PERSUADED THAT, WITH CONTINUED PATIENCE, COHESION AND COURAGE IN THE FACE OF CRITICISM, ON THE PART OF RESPONSIBLE ARAB LEADERS SUCH AS YOURSELF AND PRESIDENT ASAD, PROSPECTS ARE BRIGHT FOR AN EVENTUAL OVERALL SETTLEMENT SUCH AS WE ALL SEEK. I AM EQUALLY PERSUADED THAT IF YOU APPEAR TO BE ABANDONING YOUR PREVIOUS POSITION AT THIS CRITICAL JUNCTURE, THE REJECTIONISTS, THE USSR AND THE ISRAELI HARD-LINERS WILL REAP THE BENEFITS.

WITH WARMEST PERSONAL REGARDS,  
HENRY A. KISSINGER  
END TEXT

10. FYI FOR PICKERING. YOU SHOULD BE AWARE THAT SENATOR CASE HAS IN MIND APPROVING THE SALE OF ALL FOURTEEN HAWK BATTERIES, PROVIDING THAT CERTAIN EQUIPMENT  
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 05 STATE 214850

AND TRAINING ASSOCIATED SOLELY WITH THE WEAPON'S MOBILITY IS EXCLUDED FROM THE SALE, AND THAT THE MISSILES ARE PLACED IN HARDENED SITES. SUGGESTED LIMITATIONS WOULD EXCLUDE FROM THE SALE: ASSAULT FIRE COMMAND CONSOLES, WHEELED PLATFORMS WHERE SEPARABLE FROM EQUIPMENT, AND TRAINING IN MOBILE USE OF HAWKS. THE PROPOSAL WOULD ALSO LIMIT PROVISION OF GENERATORS AND HAWK LOADING PALLETS TO NUMBERS CONSISTENT WITH DEPLOYMENT AT FIXED SITES, AND REQUIRE ADHERENCE TO THE TYPE OF CONFIGURATION FOR PERMANENT HAWK EMPLACEMENT (I.E. HARDENED SITES INCLUDING INTEGRAL COMMUNICATIONS, RADAR TOWERS, REVETMENTS, ETC). WE HOPE TO AVOID ANY SUCH RESTRICTIONS, ALTHOUGH IT IS NOT IMPOSSIBLE THAT CASE COULD RALLY ENOUGH SUPPORT FOR HIS APPROACH TO CAUSE US FURTHER PROBLEMS. IF THIS WERE TO EVENTUATE, WHAT IS YOUR PERSONAL JUDGMENT ABOUT THE POSSIBILITY OF THE GOJ ACQUIESING IN AN UNWRITTEN, TACIT AGREEMENT TO ACCEPT DELIVERY OF ALL OR SOME OF THE HAWK BATTERIES WITH SOME RESTRICTIONS ON THEIR MOBILITY? END FYI.

KISSINGER UNQUOTE  
KISSINGER

SECRET

NNN

## Message Attributes

**Automatic DecapTIONing:** X  
**Capture Date:** 01 JAN 1994  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** PEACE, AGREEMENTS, DIPLOMATIC COMMUNICATIONS, US CONGRESSIONAL HEARINGS, MISSILES, MILITARY SALES, CAT-C, CHEROKEE 09/10/75, CHEROKEE 9/10/75  
**Control Number:** n/a  
**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Draft Date:** 10 SEP 1975  
**DecapTION Date:** 01 JAN 1960  
**DecapTION Note:**  
**Disposition Action:** RELEASED  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Authority:** CunninFX  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 28 MAY 2004  
**Disposition Event:**  
**Disposition History:** n/a  
**Disposition Reason:**  
**Disposition Remarks:**  
**Document Number:** 1975STATE214850  
**Document Source:** CORE  
**Document Unique ID:** 00  
**Drafter:** FVORTIZ:GK  
**Enclosure:** n/a  
**Executive Order:** X3  
**Errors:** N/A  
**Film Number:** P860032-1847, N750004-0242  
**From:** STATE  
**Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Image Path:**  
**ISecure:** 1  
**Legacy Key:** link1975/newtext/t19750965/aaaacfrs.tel  
**Line Count:** 223  
**Locator:** TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM  
**Office:** ORIGIN NODS  
**Original Classification:** SECRET  
**Original Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Original Previous Classification:** n/a  
**Original Previous Handling Restrictions:** NODIS  
**Page Count:** 5  
**Previous Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Previous Classification:** SECRET  
**Previous Handling Restrictions:** NODIS  
**Reference:** n/a  
**Review Action:** RELEASED, APPROVED  
**Review Authority:** CunninFX  
**Review Comment:** n/a  
**Review Content Flags:**  
**Review Date:** 20 JUN 2003  
**Review Event:**  
**Review Exemptions:** n/a  
**Review History:** RELEASED <20 JUN 2003 by CunninFX>; APPROVED <07 NOV 2003 by CunninFX>  
**Review Markings:**

Margaret P. Grafeld  
Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
06 JUL 2006

**Review Media Identifier:**  
**Review Referrals:** n/a  
**Review Release Date:** n/a  
**Review Release Event:** n/a  
**Review Transfer Date:**  
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a  
**Secure:** OPEN  
**Status:** NATIVE  
**Subject:** JORDAN HAWKS AND MESSAGE FOR KING HUSSEIN  
**TAGS:** PFOR, MASS, JO, (HUSSEIN I), (KISSINGER, HENRY A)  
**To:** AMMAN GENEVA  
**Type:** TE  
**Markings:** Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 06 JUL 2006